

SENATE

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(SINO-SOVIET)
WASHINGTON--DEFENSE SECRETARY MCNAMARA TOLD CONGRESS TODAY THAT THE SOVIET UNION WAS STRENGTHENING ITS DEFENSES BECAUSE OF "SERIOUS BORDER PROBLEMS" WITH COMMUNIST CHINA.

"WHILE AN OUTBREAK OF HOSTILITIES BETWEEN CHINA AND THE SOVIET UNION DOES NOT APPEAR PROBABLE AT THIS TIME," HE SAID, "THE TENSION ON THE BORDERS IS LIKELY TO CONTINUE."

MCNAMARA DID NOT ELABORATE ON WHAT HE DESCRIBED AS THE SINO-SOVIET "BORDER PROBLEMS" IN HIS ANNUAL REPORT ON THE U.S. MILITARY POSTURE TO THE SENATE ARMED SERVICES COMMITTEE AND DENKPPROPRIATIONS SUBCOMMITTEE.

THE TEXT OF HIS 209-PAGE REPORT WAS MADE PUBLIC BY THE COMMITTEE THURSDAY AS MCNAMARA RETURNED FOR HIS FOURTH DAY OF TESTIMONY AT CLOSED HEARINGS.

THERE HAVE BEEN PERSISTENT AND UNCONFIRMED REPORTS OF INCIDENTS ALONG THE LENGTHY SINO-SOVIET BORDER, PARTICULARLY IN SOVIET KAZAKHSTAN, WHICH ADJOINS SINKIANG PROVINCE IN THE FAR WEST OF CHINA, AND WHERE NORTHEAST CHINA MEETS THE RUSSIAN MARITIME PROVINCES.

MCNAMARA SAID THE SINO-SOVIET DISPUTE "HAS NOW REACHED A POINT WHERE THE SOVIET UNION HAS NOT ONLY RENEWED THE EXCHANGE OF BELLICOSE STATEMENTS BUT IS ALSO STRENGTHENING ITS MILITARY POSTURE IN RESPONSE TO SERIOUS BORDER PROBLEMS WITH CHINA."

HE DID NOT SAY HOW OR WHERE THE SOVIETS WERE STRENGTHENING THEIR DEFENSES. BUT HE SAID THE CONTINUING STRIFE BETWEEN THE TWO NATIONS WAS "ONE OF THE MOST SIGNIFICANT DEVELOPING TRENDS ON THE CURRENT INTERNATIONAL SCENE."

AS FOR CHINA'S INTERNAL STRIFE, HE SAID, EVENTS OF THE PAST FEW MONTHS HAD "MADE IT NECESSARY FOR US TO RE-EXAMINE SOME OF THE BASIC ASSUMPTIONS WHICH WE HAVE MADE ABOUT THE PEKING REGIME."

"THE PREVIOUS GENERAL BELIEF THAT THE LEADERSHIP OF CHINA WAS MONOLITHIC AND THAT A RELATIVELY PEACEFUL TRANSITION OF POWER FROM MAO'S COMMUNIST PARTY CHAIRMAN MAO TSE-TUNG RULE WAS POSSIBLE HAS PROVED TO BE ERRONEOUS," MCNAMARA SAID.

"ALTHOUGH THERE ARE MANY IMPOUNDERABLES AND UNCERTAINTIES, IT APPEARS THAT THE GREAT PUBLIC ATTACK ON GOVERNMENTAL AND COMMUNIST PARTY LEADERS, LAUNCHED BY MAO HIMSELF, WAS MOTIVATED BY HIS FEAR THAT CHINA AFTER HIS DEATH MIGHT NOT STAY ON A MILITANTLY REVOLUTIONARY PATH..."

ONE RESULT OF CHINA'S INTERNAL UPHEAVAL HAS BEEN A REDUCTION, POSSIBLY TEMPORARY, IN ITS INTEREST IN THE OUTSIDE WORLD, MCNAMARA SAID. PEKING, NEVERTHELESS, STILL IS ACTIVE IN SUPPORTING "CHINESE" FACTIONS IN COMMUNIST MOVEMENTS ELSEWHERE IN THE WORLD, SOMETIMES WITH MILITARY GOODS, HE SAID.

ALTHOUGH U. S. UNDERSTANDING OF THE SITUATION IS IMPRECISE, MCNAMARA SAID, CHINA HAS SUFFERED A NUMBER OF MAJOR SETBACKS IN THE PAST SEVERAL YEARS.

"THEY CAN NO LONGER HAVE ANY EXPECTATION OF A QUICK VICTORY IN VIETNAM," HE SAID. "THE GOVERNMENT OF INDONESIA IS NO LONGER CLOSELY ALLIED TO CHINA. THEIR (CHINA'S) INFLUENCE HAS WANED SOMEWHAT IN AFRICA AND THROUGHOUT THE THIRD WORLD. THEY HAVE BEEN VIRTUALLY ISOLATED WITHIN THE COMMUNIST CAMP."

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AMS BUDGET
MCNAMARA- RUSSIA
BY BOB HORTON
ASSOCIATED PRESS WRITER

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(ADVANCE) WASHINGTON, JAN. 26 (AP)- SECRETARY OF DEFENSE ROBERT S. MCNAMARA SAID TONIGHT RUSSIA'S ANTIMISSILE DEPLOYMENT HAS COMPELLED BILLION-DOLLAR IMPROVEMENTS IN U. S. MISSILE FORCES. HE WARNED A FURTHER PUSH IN THE ARMS RACE BY THE SOVIETS WOULD BE "DANGEROUS AND EXPENSIVE."

AT THE SAME TIME, MCNAMARA SPELLED OUT FOR CONGRESS HIS CASE AGAINST BUILDING AN ANTIMISSILE DEFENSE AT THIS TIME, BUT INDICATED ONE MIGHT BE DESIRABLE LATER FOR PROTECTION OF U.S. LAND-BASED ICBM'S.

PRESIDENT JOHNSON HAS SAID HE IS WITHHOLDING A DECISION TO BUILD A COSTLY ANTIMISSILE SYSTEM, WHICH WOULD BE DESIGNED TO FEND OFF ONCOMING ENEMY WARHEADS, PENDING TALKS WITH RUSSIA ON POSSIBLE ARMS LIMITATIONS.

MCNAMARA'S ANNUAL MILITARY POSTURE REPORT, MADE PUBLIC TONIGHT, LAID OUT HERETOFORE SECRET FIGURES ON AMERICAN MISSILE STRENGTH, AND EMPHASIZED THAT THE UNITED STATES WILL RELY ON OFFENSIVE WEAPONS, NOT DEFENSIVE, TO PREVENT NUCLEAR WAR.

"IT IS OUR ABILITY TO DESTROY AN ATTACKER AS A VIABLE 20TH CENTURY NATION THAT PROVIDES THE DETERRENT, NOT OUR ABILITY TO PARTIALLY LIMIT DAMAGE TO OURSELVES," HE SAID.

THE SOVIETS SHOULD BE AWARE, HE SAID, THAT "ALL WE WOULD ACCOMPLISH BY DEPLOYING ANTIBALLISTIC MISSILE (ABM) SYSTEMS AGAINST ONE ANOTHER WOULD BE TO GREATLY INCREASE OUR RESPECTIVE DEFENSE EXPENDITURES WITHOUT ANY GAIN IN REAL SECURITY FOR EITHER SIDE."

A16WX

MCNAMARA'S REMARKS CAME IN A 210-PAGE CENSORED VERSION OF HIS VOLUMINOUS REPORT, PRESENTED BEFORE THE SENATE ARMED SERVICES COMMITTEE AND DEFENSE APPROPRIATIONS SUBCOMMITTEE.

THE DOCUMENT, POSSIBLY ONE OF THE MOST SIGNIFICANT GOVERNMENT PAPERS IN YEARS, WAS CLEARED BY THE STATE DEPARTMENT WITH FULL KNOWLEDGE IT WILL BE CAREFULLY STUDIED BY THE SOVIET UNION.

MCNAMARA ENVISIONED ANY U.S. ANTIMISSILE DEFENSE AS MAINLY A FACTOR OF SAFETY IN HELPING THE NATION PRESERVE ITS "ASSURED DESTRUCTION" CAPABILITY OVER ANY ENEMY.

BESIDES REPEATING THE TOP-LEVEL DECISION TO DEPLOY THE NEW MULTIPLE-WARHEAD, SUBMARINE-LAUNCHED POSEIDON AND THE 6,000-MILE MINUTEMAN III AS COUNTERMEASURES TO RUSSIA, MCNAMARA SAID THE UNITED STATES HAS STARTED A "VERY COMPREHENSIVE" STUDY OF A POSSIBLE NEW ICBM PROGRAM. HE MENTIONED THE POSSIBILITY OF A NEW POSEIDON-LAUNCHING SUBMARINE BUT DID NOT ELABORATE.

SOURCES SAID MCNAMARA WAS REFERRING TO NO SINGLE TYPE OF MISSILE BUT OF A NEW CONCEPT.

MCNAMARA ASSERTED THAT ANY ABM DEFENSE MIGHT BE OBSOLETE BY THE TIME IT WAS COMPLETED.

IF THE UNITED STATES HAD BOUGHT THE \$14 BILLION NIKE-ZEUS ABM SYSTEM PROPOSED BY THE ARMY IN 1959, HE SAID, "MOST OF IT WOULD HAVE HAD TO BE TORN OUT AND REPLACED, ALMOST BEFORE IT BECAME OPERATIONAL, BY THE NEW MISSILES AND RADARS OF THE NIKE X."

BY THE SAME TOKEN, HE SAID, FORTHCOMING TECHNOLOGICAL DEVELOPMENTS "MAY MAKE OBSOLETE OR DRASTICALLY DEGRADE THE NIKE X SYSTEM AS PRESENTLY ENVISIONED."

THE PENTAGON CHIEF SAID THE UNITED STATES COULD SPEND UP TO \$40 BILLION IN 10 YEARS ON AN ABM AND STILL SUFFER MILLIONS OF DEATHS IF A NUCLEAR ATTACKER CHOSE TO SATURATE SELECTED TARGETS WITH MANY WARHEADS.

A17WX

AS A HEDGE AGAINST A POSSIBLE RUSSIAN REFUSAL TO HALT ABM WORK, THE ADMINISTRATION HAS INCLUDED \$375 MILLION IN THE FISCAL 1968 BUDGET FOR PRODUCTION OF NIKE X ANTIMISSILES AND RADAR COMPONENTS. IN ADDITION, \$421 MILLION HAS BEEN EARMARKED TO CONTINUE ADVANCED DEVELOPMENT OF THE SYSTEM.

COUNTING FUNDS LEFT OVER FROM LAST YEAR, THE UNITED STATES COULD SPEND NEARLY \$1 BILLION ON AN ANTIMISSILE SYSTEM IN FISCAL 1968--AND THE MATTER IS CERTAIN TO GET HEATED CONGRESSIONAL STUDY.

MCNAMARA SAID TWO SIGNIFICANT CHANGES HAVE OCCURRED IN RUSSIA THE PAST YEAR--CONSTRUCTION OF THE ABM AND A SOVIET STEP-UP IN BUILDING HARDENED ICBM SILOS WHICH COULD WITHSTAND ATTACK.

BUT HE ALSO DISCLOSED OFFICIALLY FOR THE FIRST TIME THAT THE SOVIETS ARE DEPLOYING A SECOND TYPE OF DEFENSIVE SYSTEM AROUND RUSSIA--ALTHOUGH "THE WEIGHT OF THE EVIDENCE AT THIS TIME SUGGESTS THIS SYSTEM IS NOT INTENDED PRIMARILY FOR ANTIBALLISTIC MISSILE DEFENSE."

DEFENSE SOURCES SAID U.S. INTELLIGENCE BELIEVES, AFTER STUDYING SATELLITE RECONNAISSANCE PHOTOGRAPHS OF THE RADARS, THAT THE SECOND SYSTEM IS GEARED MAINLY AGAINST BOMBERS.

"THE MAJORITY VIEW IS THAT IT ISN'T EVEN A REASONABLY EFFECTIVE ABM SYSTEM," ONE SOURCE SAID.

MCNAMARA BELIEVES, HOWEVER, U.S. MILITARY PLANNERS MUST ASSUME THE SECOND SYSTEM COULD ALSO REPEL AMERICAN WARHEADS WHICH MIGHT BE LAUNCHED IN A NUCLEAR EXCHANGE. HE SAID RUSSIA MIGHT HAVE A \$20 BILLION TO \$25 BILLION ABM DEFENSE IN PLACE BY 1972.

A18WX

MCNAMARA SAID THE SOVIETS MADE "A SERIES OF ABORTIVE STARTS" ON ANTIMISSILE SYSTEMS IN RECENT YEARS. THE CURRENT DEPLOYMENT IS BUILT AROUND THE "GALOSH" MISSILE WHICH WAS PUBLICLY DISPLAYED IN ITS TRANSPORT COVER IN 1964, HE SAID.

MCNAMARA'S 26-PAGE SECTION ON STRATEGIC FORCES OFFERED AN ILLUSTRATION SHOWING THAT, WITH NO U.S. ABM SYSTEM, A HEAVY, SOPHISTICATED RUSSIAN MISSILE ASSAULT NOW WOULD KILL 120 MILLION AMERICANS. A U.S. STRIKE COULD CLAIM AS MANY RUSSIANS.

EVEN ASSUMING THE UNITED STATES STRUCK FIRST, THE SOVIETS WOULD NEED SPEND ONLY \$1 FOR EVERY \$4 THIS COUNTRY PUTS INTO ABM DEFENSE IN ORDER TO HAVE THE COUNTERATTACK CAPABILITY OF KILLING 40 MILLION AMERICANS, MCNAMARA CALCULATED.

AND, HE ADDED, IF THE SOVIETS WANTED TO MAINTAIN A HIGHER "DETERRENCE" LEVEL OF BEING ABLE TO INFLICT 90 MILLION CASUALTIES EVEN AFTER BEING ATTACKED FIRST, THEY NEED ONLY MATCH EACH U.S. ABM DOLLAR WITH AN ADDITIONAL DOLLAR IN THEIR OFFENSIVE FORCES.

BUT WHILE THE SOVIETS CAN RETAIN THIS DEATH-DEALING CAPABILITY, HE SAID THEY REMAIN THE NO. 2 POWER.